/9 cont./

114 [101] Our stay in Colombia lasted a year, from August 8, 1952, to August 12, 1953. During this time I worked first under the direction of Herr P. Pedro José Ramirez Sendoya as Investigador at the Instituto Etnológica Nacionál, beginning September 20, 1952, as Jefe de Arqueología at the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología. [126] After several weeks of inventorying the antiquities in the region of San Agustín we traveled to Tierradentro where we collected the field material of the present publication during the period from December 24, 1952, to April 24, 1953.

122 The scientific work in Colombia was financed by the Ministerio de Educación and the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología. On this occasion I should also like to express my sincerest thanks to the then Minister of Education, Herr Dr. Lucio Pabón Nuñez, and to the Director of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, Herr Dr. Antonio Andrade Crispino, for the help rendered. Here I should also like to thank the Vice-President of the Academia de Ciencias Naturales, Herr Prof. Dr. P. Enrique Perez Arbelaez, who, during the early period of my stay in Colombia, smoothed many paths for me. I am no less grateful to the colleagues of the Institute for the scientific help given to me, as well as to the workers in Tierradentro for their diligence in the difficult and, at the beginning of the rainy period, quite unpleasant work of digging.

126 122 For the research and travel equipment, a number of firms generously put material at our disposal. For the photographs published in this book I had the use of a Leica III f with Elmar /10/ 1:3.5 and accessories, as well as a Rolleiflex with Tessar 1:3.5. For special photographic purposes Rodenstock-Heligon 1:2.8 wide-angle lens, a Steinheil-Culminar 1:2.8 telephoto lens, and Proximeters I and II from H. Schneider & Co. were used with the Leica, and with the Rolleiflex the Rolleikin equipment with the Rolleinars 1 and 2. The interior shots of the grave holes and the native houses were taken with Osram SO and Philipps Pf 45 flash bulbs, as well as with Seuthe flash capsultes. Adox KB 17 and R 18, as well as Perutz Perpantic film, served as negative material for the photographs.

1: Nachtigall--3 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/10 cont./

128 [114] For assistance in drawing up the manuscript, I should like first of all to thank my wife, who accompanied me on all my trips in Colombia, recorded the field research there stenographically, and has attended to transcribing the manuscript. I thank Herr Prof. Dr. E. L. Rapp, Mainz, for his friendly advice with regard to the transcription of the Paez language, and Herr Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Geilmann, Mainz, for the roentgenographic examination of the prehistoric teeth and bones available from the grave chambers of Tierradentro. Here, too, I should like to thank the artist of the Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte of the University of Mainz, Fräulein Margot Kunzmann, for the technical drawings and maps, and the Herrn. cand. phil. Wolfgang Lindig for proofreading.

122 [128] The Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, which had already financed my journey both ways and granted a considerable allowance for working up the scientific results, also assumed part of the printing costs for this publication. For this I should like to express my respectful gratitude to the President of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. For public and private financial and moral support I must thank Herr Ministerial Director Prof. Dr. Hans Becker and Ministerial Counselor Dr. Otto Wegner of the Ministry of Public Worship and Education /Kultusministerium/ of the Rhineland-Palatinate, the Chief Burgomaster of the city of Mainz, Herr Franz Stein, the Curator of the University of Mainz, Herr Fritz Eichholz, and the Chairman of the Supervisory Council of the Dykerhoff Portland-Zementwerke AG., Herr Consul Alexander v. Engelberg.

Mainz, October 1, 1954. H. N.

/102 cont./

175 glossary, p. 248/, and, by means of reservation laws, protected
177 the Paez from the gradually advancing colonists. In this way the
648 Paez were able to preserve their language and customs to a con-
[178] siderable extent, in contrast to the other mountain tribes of
Colombia, who have long since been absorbed in the Spanish-
175 Colombian culture. In the struggles for independence from the
648 Spanish crown under Simon Bolivar from 1812 to 1824, the Paez
fought for their liberation on the republican side under Gregorio
Calambás. Their leader was captured and shot. After the
victorious termination of the struggles for independence, Gregorio
Calambás became one of the martyrs of Colombian independence (*).

* According to V. A. Bedoya, P. J. Ramirez Sendoya, and G. Hernandez de Alba (VII).

175 The Pijao perished like the Guanaca. After having oc-
101 cupied, before the Conquista, almost the entire area of the
648 present-day department of Tolima east of the Central Cordillera,
[151] as the eastern neighbors of the Quimbaya, they perished in
countless battles with the Spaniards. As late as the eighteenth
century, remnants of them lived in the valley of the Rio Negro
de Narvaez, as neighbors of the Paez. They, called Bemb by the
Paez, as well as the Guanaca, spoke languages that differed
from the Paez. They could not understand one another.

178 Besides the Paez, the culture of the Guambiano, a
101 neighboring tribe called Mogweš by the Paez, has been preserved
114 to a certain extent up to the present day. The Guambiano in-
habit the west side of the Central Cordillera and today live in
the valley of the Piendamó around Silvia. The life and customs
of his tribe have been recently represented by the Guambiano
Francisco Tumiña Pillumbe in a number of very instructive /103/
drawings, each of which was provided with a brief text by
Gregorio Hernandez de Alba.

/103 cont./

127 We know little about the other Indian cultures of southern Colombia existing at the time of the Conquista. The conquistadors had tasks other than drawing up scientific ethnographic descriptions of their cruel enemies. Nevertheless, working with subtle methods, modern ethnological and linguistic research in the old sources has produced outstanding results.

• 114 Our knowledge is very inadequate with regard to the Paez, 127 who, with approximately 25,000 persons, constitute the largest [164] non-Spanish-speaking population group within Colombia, next to the Goajiro, the inhabitants of the Guajira Peninsula in the northern part of the country. The oldest dates come from [797] Eugenio Castillo i Orosco, who, from 1735-1755, was active as a missionary in Tálaga -- often at the risk of his life, as he reports -- and wrote down a vocabulary, a grammar, and some cultural data about the Paez. This manuscript was printed in 1877. Further ethnological data are given by the Colombian general, Carlos Cuervo Marquez, who, on his extensive journeys, also traveled through the Tierradentro region from north to south and produced the first reports about its archeological cultures. The next one, in terms of time, to report on the Paez was the American ethnologist, Henri Pittier de Fábrega, who in 1906, coming out of the central part of the Cauca Valley from the northwest by way of Corinto and Toribió, spent a few days in Tacueyó and Huila. Georg Bürg, who first investigated the archeological objects of Tierradentro more thoroughly, likewise lived for a time among the Paez and gives a few ethnographic notes in his report. In his comprehensive survey of the highland tribes of southern Colombia, Gregorio Hernandez de Alba also reports about the Paez, with whom he became acquainted in connection with his own research. Graciliano Arcila Velez undertook a blood-group examination on 303 Paez. The first thorough special study of Paez culture from the standpoint of the religious and social life was made at the time of our stay in Tierradentro by the Director of the Archeological Park of San Andrés, Segundo Bernal Villa.

/105 cont./

C 162 The inhabitants of Tierradentro may be divided into three groups, according to the degree of civilization: a) the colonists living south of the Río Ullucus, who speak Spanish and have nothing in common with the Paez. In habits and customs they correspond to the general, more or less strongly mestizo, Colombian rural population. Furthermore, the population of Balalcázar, consisting predominantly of Negroes, has nothing in common with the Paez. They were brought there by the Spaniards in colonial times as slaves, in order to exploit the salt mines that were used by the Paez even in ancient times. Today salt C [316] extraction is no longer profitable. The Negroes live partly on gold-washing in the Río Paez, which is undertaken in primitive T [563] fashion with wooden pans, the workers standing up to their knees [186] in water. The Paez do not generally intermarry with the Negroes, but, on the contrary, despise them, since they know that they at one time came there as slaves.

P 162 361 563 b) The Paez who north of the Río Ullucus have settled both banks of the Río Paez as far north as Nevado del Huila. They have in part intermarried with the white and mestizo colonist P [103] population. The /106/ places inhabited by them are: Araujo, Avirama, Belalcázar, Cuetando, Mosoco, Ricaurte, San Andrés, San José, Tálaga, Toez, Togóima.

P 162 103 c) The pure Paez villages of Calderas, Chinas, Huila, Lame, Santa Rosa, Suin and Vitoncó. Among these the Paez of Calderas have preserved their cultural individuality most P purely. We worked primarily among them, and the present ma- ● 114 121 terial, insofar as nothing is said to the contrary, refers to the P culture of the Paez of Calderas. The Calderun, as the inhabitants 181 of Calderas are known in the country, are by far the most unap- 648 proachable of all the Paez. They have best kept to this day the 101 three laws of Juan Tama, the mythical hero of the Paez, which were originally strictly observed by all. These three laws say: 1. Tierradentro is solely and exclusively the land of the Paez, 2. the Paez may never intermarry with other races, 3. the Paez are invincible as long as they keep these laws. The third law in particular has well-founded justification, since for centuries

/111 cont./

3. Anthropological Remarks

114 Since I did not take any anthropological measurements
141 among the Paez personally, I cannot give any numerical data. These investigations were undertaken during my stay by the Colombian anthropologist, Nestor Usacategui, but have not yet been published.

14 From the somatic point of view, as far as the men are concerned, they are generally medium-sized, slim, with narrow shoulders, seldom thickset. As practiced climbers and mountaineers, they are never obese. They do not give the impression of being undernourished, but their padding of fat is very thin. Their arm and body musculature is also poorly developed (cf. Ill. 173 /see p. 277/). They are unable to lift large loads.
[482] A maximum of 25 kilograms is transported by means of the fiber bags hanging down on their backs and carried with a chest-band. Their calves are muscular, but not fat. Fallen arches prevail
[481] generally. Their gait is slightly bowlegged; the great toes point inward during walking. The same somatic peculiarities are also found among the women. In youth they are well-proportioned, in old age never fat.

141 In general brachycephaly predominates, but it is not extreme. The faces are oval, the cheekbones only slightly prominent. The nose is primarily straight, sometimes slightly concave, and of medium width. Among women one sometimes finds slightly distended alae. The forehead /112/ is high, straight,
142 and steep. The eyebrows are not very pronounced. The eyes are sometimes slightly slanting and show -- especially among women -- a slight Mongolian fold. The mouth is large, the lips somewhat puffy. The eye color is dark brown and shining, the skin color medium-brown. In Avirama there was proudly introduced to us a family whose members, along with normal skin-color and dark eyes, have reddish-blond hair. One of the grandfathers was said to have been lighter colored and to have had even lighter hair. The normal color of the hair is dark; the hair is straight, but not stiff, and sometimes wavy. Even in old

/126 cont./

433 only on the basis of knowledge about their rites, ceremonial acts, mythology, cultic preparations, or festivals of thanksgiving. 433 This is difficult in view of the great cultural poverty of the Paez, 241 but it is noteworthy that nothing connected with agriculture or [233] with cattle-raising reveals any kind of cultic relationship. Neither during sowing nor harvesting was I able to observe or [224] learn of any kind of typical agricultural rites, whereas in connection with hunting, now economically unimportant, a number of precepts and prohibitions surround the hunter before and after his hunting.

a) Agriculture

243 191 ● 114 The chief crop in the Calderun region, as among the Paez generally, is maize, which was at the same time the most important cultivated plant and the basic food of the American peoples from Patagonia to Canada in pre-Colombian times. To this day the discussion about its culture-historical origin has not come to an end. Formerly Central America was regarded as the original land of its cultivation. On ethno- /127/ botanical grounds and plant-geographical investigations, K. Birket-Smith (p. 32) assumes that the original land of maize cultivation is not Central America, but northern South America, since, according to the more recent botanical discoveries, the original form of maize is believed to have been found in the form of the pod corn (Zea mays tunicata) of the Andean countries. Not to be left unmentioned are the voices which most recently have argued for an Asiatic origin of maize, as well as of cotton (Zerries, 1952, pp. 104/5).

If we compare these hypotheses about the origin of maize with the first authenticated reports about its occurrence in America, we find as the oldest date the year 1493, when Columbus had already brought maize to Europe from his first journey across the ocean. As early as 1525 maize was extensively cultivated in the fields of Andalusia (Schweinfurt, pp. 514 f).

1: Nachtigall --47 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC1
Tierradentro

P /127 cont./
241
[243] Maize cultivation, like every other kind of tillage among the Paez, is done by the system of burning off clearings, a form of cultivation which is widespread among all tropical agriculturalists and is commonly known in America under the designation "milpa system." The term is Central American (probably Aztec) and means "maize field" or "bare surface in the forest," but the latter always in the sense of a burned-over piece of land planted with maize. The Colombian word corresponding to the designation "milpa" is "roza," to which in Peru the designation "chacra" generally corresponds, although there the word is also used for terraced fields that are cultivated regularly every year.

The basis of the milpa system of clearing by burning is an extensive type of agriculture, in which, before sowing, new land is cleared of its growth by burning and after the harvest is (again) abandoned for several years or forever. This type of agriculture is feasible in sparsely settled regions in which there is sufficient land to permit the intervals between the separate burnings of the clearings to be long enough. If the intervals are too brief and the land burned over too often, all kinds of taller growth are eradicated. The grass covering which then forms and grows all through the year makes the land worthless for agricultural use, whereupon a larger population can no longer feed itself from its land. This is demonstrated in large areas of Central America where the dense population living in large urban cultural centers has exhausted the soil with the milpa system to such an extent that today many of these old culture areas are
p treeless, uninhabited grassland.

● 114 O. F. Cook (p. 323) regards /128/ the simultaneous cultivation of one-fifth to one-tenth of the available land as a sound form of the milpa system. This corresponds to a clearing cycle of five to ten years. There is sufficient land for this in Calderas. A cleared field is cultivated there once, at most twice in succession, and then it is left to rest at least ten, but usually
C 311 15 to 20 years (Ill. 146 /see p. 264/). The areas used by the Indio villages, then, present a picture completely different from

/147 cont./

283 alpaca wool and the wool of their wild relatives, the vicuña and guanaco.

283 824 The agave (mbāts) grows in all parts of Tierradentro, and the fibers of its fleshy, watery leaves are used for plaiting, weaving, and the making of nets and ropes. The fiber must be obtained immediately after the leaf, 1.50 meters long, is struck off the plant, since the moisture is lost very rapidly and it is then very difficult to remove the dry flesh from the fibers. For this purpose every house has a tree trunk leaning diagonally against the wall in the shadow of the roof, and a string with a small stick hangs down from the upper part of it. This is stuck crosswise into the leaf hanging tip-downward, and then the pulpy parts of the agave leaf are scraped downward rapidly with a very sharp-edged, halved bamboo tube split lengthwise, until only the long, continuous, clean fibers /148/ remain (Ills. 177 and 178 /see p. 279 /). These are tied loosely around a beam to dry, until sooner or later they are spun and twisted for use.

283 [462] Men and women employ different techniques to obtain thread from the agave fibers. The men twist the thread with the hand on the upper thigh, whereas the women spin the agave fiber, like the sheep wool, into thread with the spindle. Two methods of spinning are distinguished among the South American natives, depending on the shape of the [114] spindle and the way it is held. O. Frödin and E. v. [171] Nordenskiöld call these the Bororo and the Bakaïri /Bacairi/ methods, according to their characteristic occurrence. The first method is the older culture-historically. In this case the spindle staff is symmetrical in cross-section and the whorl is generally near the lower end. In spinning, the spindle is held more or less horizontally and is placed with the lower end on a forked twig stuck into the ground or is held between the toes. The spun thread is first wound onto the shorter part below the whorl and only later wound up on the main [171] part above. The principal area of distribution of this type

/155 cont./

294 285 From the other side there is a corresponding procedure with the then outer plaiting-strip, so that the strips are plaited alternately from both sides always only to the center. This produces a very uniform and firm band.

A thread of the agave fiber is used to sew the plaited bands together. In order to give the hat brim sufficient stiffness, leaf ribs are sewed on the underside over the seams.

e) Weaving

285 286 ●114 The demarcation of plaiting from weaving is not uniform. In the literature written in English the two are generally not differentiated. According to H. Nevermann (pp. 4-6), the following conditions must be given for the simplest technique of weaving, namely, rod weaving /Stabweberei/, such as is also practiced among the Paez: 1) the stretching of the threads or fibers on a frame, 2) long weft threads, 3) rectangular crossing of warp and weft, 4) mechanical formation of the first and second shed. The last point is the decisive one, for in plaiting each weft thread must be drawn separately over or under each separate warp thread, whereas in weaving this is done over a certain number of longitudinal threads simultaneously by means of a heddle rod or something similar. More complicated types of weaving, for example, little-board weaving, comb weaving, or braid-grid weaving /Brettchenweberei, Kamm- or Litzengatterweberei, types of weaving found in Indonesia and described by Nevermann, pp. 16-18 (see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 325)/, do not occur among the Paez.

/156/ 1. Weaving Apparatus for Carrying Bands

286 The weaving apparatus for the carrying bands of the fiber bags (vitoñãpc) consists of a forked branch, the sides of which must not be too far apart and should, if possible, run parallel. Its size is 60 to 80 centimeters in height and between 20 and 60

1: Nachtigall--97 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/169 cont./
491 rivers (*), for example, the Rio Kokiyó, which flows through

[114]

*I did not see anywhere the simplest form of a bridge mentioned by H. Pittier (p. 320) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/ in the northern part of Tierradentro, a bridge which people cross hand over hand on a liana stretched across the river.

the Calderun region, there are strong bridges over which even
491 loaded horses may go without trouble. This type of bridge
499 consists of two tree trunks placed a good meter apart, upon which poles are tied crosswise as planking. Only about every fifth planking pole is lashed, while the ones in between are held fast by a longitudinal beam laid over each of the main supports. On either side of the bridge, poles are tied vertically and horizontally as a railing and at the same time serve to support the roofing. The latter is a characteristic of all such bridges (Ills. 194 and 195 /see pp. 285 and 286/). One finds it not only on the bridges in the colonists' region of Tierradentro, but /170/ also, for example, on the bridges of the upper Magdalena River, the region around San Agustín.

The third type of bridge is found in two artfully constructed arched bridges made of bamboo over the Rio Paez at Belalcázar and Avirama (Ills. 191 to 193 and 196 /see pp. 285 and 286/).
[284] They are both quite similar in construction and, like all the other bridges of the Paez, made without nails or other iron parts, but simply lashed with bast and lianas. For reinforcement, however, two wire cables have now been stretched underneath.
491 Although even the Spaniards at the time of the conquistadors
177 report on the "weak and flexible bamboo bridges" and on the
499 "liana bridges" of Tierradentro (Hernandez, 1944, p. 189), in
[175] the case of the two above-mentioned arched bridges, which are relatively difficult to construct, it seems not to be a matter of an original Paez technique. Indeed, these would be the only suspension bridges of this type in pre-Spanish South America.

/183 cont./

601 Forms of address:

father and mother together (whether by their own children or other persons)	ovẽnyi or pẽtãm
father and son together (by other persons)	pẽndyĩk
father and daughter together (by other persons)	pẽndyĩs
mother and son together (by other persons)	pẽndyĩk
mother and daughter together (by other persons)	pẽndyĩs

3. Customs during the Course of Life and of a Day

182 593 [157] [114] The Paez generally give the impression of being contented human beings, and it seems that marriage and family life are better than average. Of course, the observations on this are very scanty, for, on account of the remote location of the individual dwellings, the research worker always has only a brief glimpse of family conditions at any one time. This very solitude, however, and the consciousness of greater dependence on one another within the family favors its cohesion, even as it reduces the conflict and irritation which arise through women's gossip when people live too closely on top of one another.

842 [123] Basically every family wants a great many children -- at any rate so said all the men questioned. Two Calderun women, however, /184/ confided to my wife that there was a remedy -- which they and other women, too, naturally did not use! -- that [825] [237] would with certainty prevent conception: One must eat some of the spittle of a mula (the female, infertile cross between horse and donkey), and then one would no longer have children. They said that a woman does this only when she has already given birth to a great many children. In general every girl desires a great one

/189 cont./

b) Maturity

881 Today no rites or ceremonies for the youths take place any
[178] more. In former times they were led to the sacred lagoon of Juan
[778] Tama or to the heights of Cuetando, and there they had to build a hut and lay out a small cornfield as proof of their capabilities as a man and father of a household (Hernandez, 1944, p. 203).

[582] A girl comes of age with puberty, that is to say, she may
[836] marry. Before that and before marriage, intercourse is not per-
[535] mitted. On the occasion of the first menstruation in former times a special dance was performed (itsa-kó), during which the young girl was bathed naked in chicha in a pit outside the festival house
881 (Castillo i Orosco, p. 85). Today this no longer takes place;
285 rather, a girl, when she goes to the dűyat for the first time at
787 about 15 years of age, takes along agave fibers and during the
[178] approximately five days that she stays there plaits a very pretty,
[262] small fiber bag (yăhaleckwe) about the size of a fist. There are no additional food prohibitions or similar things. After that she goes to a distant river to bathe. On the way there she lets the bag fall. A married man passing by lets it lie, for he knows that it belongs to a young girl. A young man, however, who happens to be coming that way sees the beautifully worked bag, picks it up, and uses it as a small money-bag. Without knowing who made the little bag, he will -- people are convinced -- marry this girl.

/190/ c) Marriage

595 The present form of marriage of the Paez is monogamy.
● 114 H. Pittier de Fábrega (p. 314), however, concludes from their traditions that the Paez were formerly polygamous and were converted to monogamy only through education on the part of the missionaries. I could find no clue in their mythology for actual
595 polygamy in former times. The social structure and way of life
591 of the Paez, however, prohibits living alone for unmarried girls.
[589] In case they have no relatives or do not find lodging in the house of relatives, another man takes them into his family. The girl

/191 cont./

584 the city, even before reaching it, be devoured by a Pijao. There-
754 fore, this has never been attempted by any girl. An example of
539 the opposite is instructive in this connection. Our Colombian
• 114 colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, who lived in the park of San
584 Andrés with us and at the same time carried on his ethnological and sociological research in Calderas, had often mentioned, jokingly and in order to make himself popular, that he intended to look for a bride in Calderas. He was often seen with a pretty Calderun girl by the people in the village, as he conversed and went walking with her. One day when he presented her with a bottle of brandy, not knowing or not heeding the courtship custom connected with this, his joking was taken seriously and very much
[423] amiss. The girl was sentenced by the cabildo to severe corporal
[692] punishment and, after this was carried out, was married the next day to a young man of the village.

584 For the official offer of marriage, the father of the young
431 man goes to the house of the girl's parents. He takes along a gourd calabash with about ten liters of chicha and five bottles of brandy. First he converses only casually with the entire family of the girl for half an hour, many jokes are made, and they talk about this and that. Then he asks the girl's father whether his daughter would not like to marry his son. The parents reply that they have only one daughter and that unfortunately they cannot give her away, since they themselves need her so much. Thereupon they converse further, talk about this and that, and then the father of the young man asks a second time whether the daughter of the house would not like to marry his son. But this time, too, the father of the girl replies that he has but one daughter and can unfortunately not give her away. Then they talk some more, until the guest asks a third time: "Can you not give me your daughter for my son?" The father of the girl then replies: "Very well, I shall give my daughter to your son, but I expect him always to treat her well and not to speak ill of her!" Then the guest hands over the bottles of brandy which he brought along, the first to the father of the bride, the second to the mother of the bride, then the third to the bride, and then a bottle each to her brothers and sisters. He gives all the chicha that he brought to the bride's

IV. Spiritual Culture

1. Language

121 According to A. v. Humboldt, languages are differentiated by the elements of content and form, and, accordingly, languages are divided into three groups, which in the following period were erroneously interpreted as stages of the development of language. According to this, the oldest stage was represented by the isolating languages, which express form elements by means of independent words with the meaning still recognizable as far as content is concerned. Their words, as in Chinese, are monosyllabic, isolating. The second group is made up of the agglutinative languages, in which the element of form is added to the element of content, the stem, through clearly recognizable affixes. The Ural-Altaic and the Bantu languages in particular are put here. The inflected languages occupy the third stage. In them the form element is expressed by inner changes of the stem or by affixes closely intergrown with the stems, as, for example, in the Indo-Germanic and Hamito-Semitic languages.

Even though this classification of languages was subsequently abandoned as the schema of a sequence of development, it is nevertheless quite applicable as an initial, practical orientation. For the more precise classification of a language, the working out of the phonetics and syntax is required.

197 193 Paez is an agglutinative language. The grammatical forms are built up by a succession of syllables. The pronunciation is difficult for a European. It is similar to Kechua /Quechua/, from which a number of loanwords have been adopted.

175 797 192 193 ●114 The oldest linguistic reports about the Paez come from P. Eujenio del Castillo i Orosco, who collected his linguistic material around 1735, as a missionary in Tálaga. It was supplemented and published by E. Uricoechea in 1877. The collected data include a catechism, a vocabulary, and a grammar with information about personal pronouns and the conjugations of "to be" and "to write." The grammar and vocabulary contain some forms and word formations that are alien to the original Paez language.

/216 cont./

●114 Further linguistic notes were collected by H. Pittier de
192 Fábrega. These supplemented Castillo's vocabulary and gram-
193 matical data. H. Lehmann published examples of sentences of the Paez from Pitayó collected by French missionaries.

197 /217/ In a comparative study based on the aforementioned
114 publications, H. Beuchat and P. Rivet investigated the linguistic classification of Paez within the language groups of Colombia and classified it in the southwestern group of the six Chibcha language groups. (These Chibcha-speaking tribes correspond neither archeologically nor ethnologically to the true Chibcha (Mwiska) of the savanna of Bogotá!)

124 The linguistic material presented in the following is ex-
126 tremely fragmentary. The data given, however, were for the
197 most part checked several times. The difficulties of linguistic recording lay, aside from the brief time at our disposal, in the lack of grammatical training of the interpreter, who otherwise spoke Spanish very well, but who, during dictation or in translations, often said the same sentence entirely differently when repeating it; possibly because he could translate it better this way. When his attention was called to this, the stereotyped answer was: "One can say it that way, too" or "that is the way we speak." Another thing was that the interpreter was able to summon up the unusual mental concentration for linguistic recording for only two or at most three hours daily, distributed over the forenoon and afternoon.

a) Phonetics

194 As a result of the location of the individual villages in iso-
[197] lated valleys, the pronunciation varies slightly from place to
[124] place. Since we started with the Paez of Calderas in our collection of ethnological data, the following word list was also made with my Calderun interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ.

In the Paez alphabet the complete palatal range, which includes all consonants, is noteworthy. Almost as numerous are the consonant combinations with the English "w." In the

/223 cont./

193 576 address him as "father of ..." If the person concerned has no children, one addresses him, like contemporaries, by his first name, "since a man who has no children is no man."
Older women are respectfully addressed "ĩkf."

193 601 you (father or mother to son): kwe

you (father or mother to daughter): ĩčа

you (wife to husband): ĩngya

you (husband to wife): ĩkwe

you (brother to brother or sister to sister): yakté

you (brother to sister): pe'š

you (sister to brother): ndyĩš

193 [576] you (fem.): ĩkf, respectful address for older women

he, she, it: kya

we (masc. and fem.): kweš

they (masc. and fem.): kyáñweš

you /plural/: not known; in the corresponding translation the word cúkai (all) was sometimes used. In the grammar of Castillo i Orosco, the Paez word "icuexs" (ikweš) is given for "vosotros." The interpreter translated this for me as "Ustedes." It is not used to conjugate verbs. [114]

The possessive pronouns correspond -- except in the third person singular -- to the personal pronouns. They are placed first.

/224 cont./

193 no one: tĕčanyópa; tĕčanyópa máhiméta, "no one is working";

several, various: ko; ātya ko hímba hipt, "I several horses have";

many: tak; tak nása, "many people";

little: wé; very little: táwala wéha.

193 Verbs: The infinitive forms of the verbs end in -ya. The
●114 only data thus far published about the conjugation system are to be found in Castillo i Orosco, who conjugates the verb "to write"
[177] in all paradigms according to Latin grammar. The word forma-
[797] tion of the model verb and the conjugation are artificial and set up for teaching at the mission schools. People do not speak that way in Calderas.

193 The conjugations of a few verbs given in the following do not
124 represent all the conjugation possibilities, since -- as was men-
177 tioned -- the interpreter lacked a knowledge of Spanish grammar. Hence the schema of the paradigms is largely theoretical. Everyday speech is different, and especially in storytelling the interpreter used forms which he reproduced in Spanish with participial constructions. Nevertheless the forms reproduced here are /225/ "correct" in the sense that one "can" speak this way and be understood while using the forms.

193 Besides the four tenses reproduced here (present, future, and
[124] two forms of the perfect), there are probably also forms corresponding to the conjunctive, which, however, the interpreter neither understood nor was able to reproduce in Spanish. The forms of the future are not always used. Very often the present is used with the addition of "tomorrow" or "later," for example, ātya gwágwan kúskay, "I speak tomorrow," instead of ātya gwágwahípt, "I shall speak." The forms of the two past tenses are apparently used arbitrarily. To my questions on this point I always merely received the answer: "one can say it this way and also that way." Here, too, the addition of ónna, "yesterday" (in context: ónnaha), or esé, "some time ago," is customary.

[126] The abstract, consecutive listing of the forms of a conjugation is hardly possible for the Paez. I always had to make

P 533 [177] [534] C 533 534 [177]

/291 cont./ properly with their instruments and simply uniformly beat sixteenths. Thus it seems that the melody is more original and hence more firmly anchored in the tradition of the Paez, and that with the borrowing of the drum, the corresponding modern rhythm was also adopted. This has been corroborated for me by an observation pertaining to the music of the Negroes of Tumaco in the Colombian port city on the Pacific coast. There, among the descendants of onetime slaves, West African musical instruments with corresponding Negro designations are still in use today, among others the xylophone-like marimba and two drums, the conical konuno with skin stretched over one side and the cylindrical bass drum covered with skin on both sides, the bombo. The latter shows the same type of stretching as the Paez bass drum and is also played with two drumsticks, one of which, provided with a raw-rubber knob, is struck on the skin and the other, a simple stick, on the frame of the body of the drum.

P 533 [462]

The musicians are always men. They play the music as amateurs who learn one or another instrument because they have taken a fancy to it. The drum is the more popular instrument, whereas flutists are less numerous and primarily limited to certain families.

P 535 [171]

The dances danced today, which, by the way, not everyone masters, correspond to the Colombian bambuco, though they do not show the dexterity and lightness of movement required for that, such as is found among the Colombian rural population in other parts of the country.

P 535 114

By way of a note, there should be cited the dances which H. Pittier de Fabrega (based on E. Castillo i Orosco) mentions for the Paez and which in some of the designations, point to an independent culture: onza-kó, /292/ "mouse dance," nwi-kó "buzzard dance," itsa-kó, puberty dance of the girls, eč-koi-kó, dance of the spirit-flute, tel-koi-kó, dance of the long flute or war dance, la-kó, dance to dedicate a house, etc.

/292 cont./

5. Folklore

539 The present fund of tales of the Paez is neither rich nor varied. Here, too, a certain impoverishment has undoubtedly taken place, as may be seen from fragments of larger complexes of myths. Among these there are the "Story of the Woman from Whose Body Useful Plants Come Forth," stories about transformed animals and human beings, as well as stories about werejaguars. [171] The story of the ghostly human head that comes rolling by is also extraordinarily widespread in North and South American legends [176] and has a manifold lunar-mythological meaning. In contrast to this, the complete absence of typical stories about the forest spirit (gĕlyŏmp) is noteworthy, although the latter plays an important role in the religious conceptions of the Paez. Animal and transformation tales are only very dull and colorless.

114 609 539 [887] Unfortunately, the reluctance of the Paez to communicate is particularly frustrating in the recording of the myths. It is primarily the old people who can tell stories. But they are the very ones who are particularly standoffish toward the stranger. The chroniclers and early reporters tell us nothing about the folklore of the Paez, and even the most recent travelers of the 'thirties report only the story of Juan Tama or deny that the Paez have any mythology at all.

12 609 539 [554] The stories collected by S. Bernal Villa and by myself could surely be augmented with better acquaintance among the old people. The unpopularity of our interpreter, especially among the old people, was sometimes so great an obstacle that Victoriano had to ask suitable informants for some of the stories told about his father or uncle.

539 The themes of the stories chiefly consist of tales about Thunder (Nos. 1-12), mostly under his names of Juan Tama, Llivan, Chautĕ, or Juan Chiracol. In the myths he is the first shaman and teacher of the present-day shamans (see under "Religion" /see pp. 176 ff. /) and considerably more powerful than human beings. He is not an exalted, numinous figure, however. On the contrary, people in olden days /293/ sometimes treated him quite badly, threw poisonous herbs in his lagoon,

1: Nachtigall--216 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/293 cont./

*539 and even shut him up in a box. A second group of stories (Nos. 13-14) deals with tales about spirits, a third (Nos. 15-16) tales about Pijao, the feared man-eaters and dreadful enemies of the Paez. These are related to a certain extent to tales about werejaguars (Nos. 17-18). The remaining stories, which cannot be further classified, are given in the last group (Nos. 19-22).

• [114] In order to achieve a certain completeness, stories No. 1 and 2 about Juan Tama are given here as told by G. Bürg (p. 34) and G. Hernandez de Alba (1946, p. 953), respectively, and stories No. 4, 9, 10 as told by S. Bernal Villa (?) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 323/.

1. Juan Tama, the Water-born

The following remembrance of Juan Tama lives on among the Indians of Vitomcó: A long time ago there ruled in Vitomcó a female cacique who was childless and therefore always sad when she thought about who would follow her in power. One day when she was washing clothes at the confluence of the Rio Paez and a brook that comes from the Páramo de Moras (from the lagoon known today as Juan Tama), she saw in the water a floating piece of wood on which lay a small child. She fished it out, and, since it was a boy, she took him in, reared him, and, when he reached majority, made him cacique. This cacique -- known as Juan Tama today -- was very wise and strong and led his people against the Spaniards when the latter settled on the Magdalena [648] River. The last time he was seen on the Paez was in the great battle of San Vicente, where he and his troops succeeded in defeating the Spaniards. Since he had come floating on the water, he was not regarded as an ordinary human being, but rather it was assumed that he was sent to the cacique by her ancestors, or else that he descended directly from the gods who mated with the lagoon of Juan Tama, so that the latter is his mother. When Juan Tama saw that his people were victorious at San Vicente and no longer needed his protection, he disappeared again. He merely gave his subcaciques orders and then went back to his mother, the Lagoon de Juan Tama, where he lives to this day and from where he directs the destinies of his Indians in Tierradentro.

/317 cont./

105 In the Paez religion there is no cult priesthood with offerings
771 and prayer, just as there is also no cult or worship of numinous
756 beings. The Paez religion is a shamanism, the two forms of which are the evil sorcerer and the good shaman as doctor and helper against evil sorcery. As a religious phenomenon Paez shamanism is not as distinctive as the Siberian or the North American shamanism. Assistant spirits and the soul journey as shamanistic means are only rudimentary with the shamanistic "signs," the "thunder child," and the journeys of the shaman to the house of Thunder on the bottom of the lagoon; there is almost no ceremonial apparatus. Nevertheless, the activity of the good shaman in particular, as doctor and helper in sickness caused by magical practices, as well as his function as sociological crystallization point of the community, is entirely a shamanistic phenomenon.

105 Linguistically Paez belongs among the agglutinative languages,
[197] in which the form element is made up by affixes that characterize
[194] whole classes of words. In phonetics the series of palatals including all the consonants is striking, as well as the frequent occurrence of nasal vowels.

105 /318/ The linguistic classification of Paez is difficult. Since
114 the research of H. Beuchat and P. Rivet it has been regarded as
197 one of the Chibcha languages. This was not always the case. E. Castillo i Orosco emphasized in 1735 that in its grammatical structure Paez is very different from Chibcha (p. 63). It was C. Cuervo Marquez who first regarded Paez as a Chibcha language (p. 199). H. Pittier de Fábrega emphasized in 1907 that the relationship of Paez refers only to the rules of grammatical construction; the vocabulary is completely different (p. 341). Then in 1910 Beuchat and Rivet investigated all the North Andean languages in a work of large scope and then confirmed the distribution of the Chibcha languages from Nicaragua to Eucador. According to this, the majority of the Colombian tribes spoke Chibcha (pp. 193-198). Up to now this classification has neither been examined in greater detail nor disproved by linguistics. This may be left to the philologists. Here there will only be a few remarks about the problem of the Chibcha languages in general and that of Paez as an

/318 cont./

105 assumed Chibcha language in particular. The difficulty of language
114 comparison in the northern Andean area lies in the wholely in-
197 adequate material for comparison. The majority of the tribes investigated have died out long ago, and there is seldom sufficiently complete material available from the few living ones. Even the true Chibcha (Mwiska) on the plateau of Bogotá has not been spoken for two and a half centuries and is known only from the literature. Beuchat and Rivet choose the lexicographic and grammatical method for their language comparison. The total vocabulary of the languages investigated contains about 200 words. These serve as comparative material for 49 languages, namely, for true Chibcha (Mwiska) and 23 other languages and dialects in northern Colombia and Panama, as well as for 25 languages and dialects of southern Colombian languages! Methodologically the procedure was to find a lexicographic agreement between language A and language B, another agreement between language B and language C, a further agreement between language C and language D, etc. In the proof, language A is related to languages B,
105 C, D, etc. Applied to Paez: In the vocabulary given by Beuchat.
114 and Rivet there is no Paez word in direct agreement with Chibcha!
192 Nor was there even a choice of words according to their qualita-
197 tive significance. Thus it is especially noteworthy that there is a complete lack of corresponding designations for food, animals, useful plants, metals (gold), parts of the body, kinship designations, etc. /319/ On the basis of the vocabulary, therefore, it is not possible to designate Paez as a Chibcha language. To what extent this applies to the other southern Colombian tribes, for whom there usually exists only a very limited vocabulary, cannot be discussed here. In any case, there is a large number of Kechua /Quechua/ words in all these languages -- as a result of the close proximity to Kechua-speaking peoples. (For Paez, cf. the
105 compilations in Castillo i Orosco and Pittier de Fábrega.) Gram-
197 matical agreements between Chibcha and Paez do exist. At the
[114] same time, however, Beuchat and Rivet expressly point out that,
[193] of the languages compared, Paez shows the greatest grammatical differences with Chibcha (pp. 190/191). In summary it may be

/320 cont./

105 We are therefore obliged to regard the presence of the Paez in
172 their present settlement areas of Tierradentro as subsequent to the
174 archeological culture. Whether, as later immigrants within a larger population movement, they were the destroyers of the archeological culture, or whether they settled on the sites of the archeological culture only in the course of their wars with the
105 Spaniards cannot be clarified at the present time. /321/ The
172 latter assumption is corroborated by the fact that the reports of
174 the early Spaniards about the tribes that they encountered and
114 about their geographical position are not always clear. For exam-
131 ple, P. Manuel Rodriquez (1684) has the Paez living in the Páramo de las Papas, the páramo west of San Agustín, in which
101 rise the Magdalena, Cauca, and Caqueta. It is also remarkable
105 that the first Spanish reports do not mention the Guambiano, the
114 present-day western neighbors of the Paez. The assumption that
172 the Paez were affiliated with a newly immigrated, war-like
174 population is corroborated by the fact that the tribe of the Andaki /Andaqui/ living in the culture area of San Agustín at the time of the Conquista also had nothing to do with the archeological culture, but may possibly be regarded as the destroyers of it.

VI. List of Foreign and Technical Terms

104

Alcalde	Colombian designation for the burgomaster of a town or head of a district. Also the designation for local native authorities.
Ají	Very pungent mixture of ají pepper with onions and other spices.
Arroba	Spanish measure of weight of 12 1/2 kilograms.
Cabildo	Colombian community council. Among the Paez the designation for the democratically chosen village council.
Chaquira	Columbian designation for glass bead.
Chicha	(pronounced tschitscha) Native beer. Made of sugar cane among the Paez, of maize among most of the other Andean Indians, usually made of manioc among the South American Forest Indians.

104 /321 cont./

Conquista	Period of the Spanish conquest.
Conquistador	Spanish conqueror at time of the discovery of America.
Finca	Plantation farm or estate for the growing of coffee, sugar cane, bananas, etc.
Gobernador	Spanish head of the administration of a province. Among the Paez, the head of the village council.
Guaquero	Pirate excavators of prehistoric, Indian burial sites.

/322/

Hacienda	Large country estate in Tierradentro.
Kazike	(Cacique) West Indian designation for the chief of a village or native tribe, used by Spaniards as a general designation for native chiefs within their area of authority. The translation "Fürst"/prince/ used in the literature in German is misleading.
Lagoon	Lake, pond.
Machete	Bush knife, long chopping knife.
Milpa System	Central American designation for periodic tillage on previously burned-off clearings; called roza in Colombia, wáts among the Paez.
Minga	System of free joint work by the village.
Municipio	In Tierradentro a number of villages, somewhat like our administrative district.
Nyiç	Evil shaman, evil sorcerer.
Panela	Boiled-down sugar-cane juice. Transported and traded in the form of bars of about half a kilogram each. Customary form of sugar consumption among the Colombian rural population.
Páramo	High steppe. General designation for the crests of the Cordilleras.
Parcialidád	In Tierradentro: village with the lands belonging to it.
Poncho	Sleeveless cloak of the Andean Indians in the form of a rectangular or square blanket with a hole for the head. Called ruana in Colombia.

•[114]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

ETHNOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC NOTES ON THE PAEZ INDIANS OF TIERRA ADENTRO, CAUCA, COLOMBIA

By H. PITTIER DE FÁBREGA

Introductory

Very little is known of the ethnology of the aboriginal inhabitants of the western and central cordilleras of Colombia and the intervening broad valley of Cauca. The early historians and chroniclers have left only long lists of more or less confused tribal names, along with the recital of the protracted war of extermination conducted with conscienceless and selfish cruelty by the conquistadores. With few exceptions modern writers have found little or no opportunity to deal with what is left of these interesting people.

With special reference to the Paez Indians, who are the subject of these notes, our notions have hitherto been derived almost exclusively from the materials collected by Castillo y Orozco about 1735, and published in 1877 with brief analytical notes by the late Colombian scholar, Señor Don Ezequiel Uricoechea.[1]

Early in 1906 the writer visited the section of the central cordillera inhabited by the Paez, staying a few days at two of their principal villages, namely, at Tacueyó, at the headwaters of the Palo river on the western side of the mountains, and at Huila, at the junction of the Paez and San Vicente rivers, on the Indian reservation known as Tierra Adentro. The personnel of the expedition, in addition to the author, with a few friends and two servants, consisted of native Indians, so that good opportunities were afforded for becoming familiar with the Paez language and to gain an insight into native manners and customs.

[1] Rufino del Castillo i Orozco, *Vocabulario Páez-Castellano, Catecismo, Nociones gramaticales i dos Pláticas*, (publicados) con *Adiciones, Comentarios i un Vocabulario Castellano-Páez*, por Ezequiel Uricoechea. París: 1877.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

121 The present object is not in any way to contribute an exhaustive monograph on the Paez, but simply to give a summary of our former knowledge of them, together with the chief results of the personal information collected during the visit referred to.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

FORMER OCCUPANTS. "PLANOS DE INDIOS." HUACAS

101 In addition to the still existing tribes, traces of the former
174 occupancy of the Cauca valley and the adjacent mountains by a dense Indian population are found at every step. The names of extinct groups, like the Hilamas, Ocaches, Jamundies, and others, impressed on the minds of the former Spanish inhabitants by reason of some of their more gruesome customs, have come down to the present generation, although the tribes, as such, have disappeared. Of the Hilamas and Ocaches it is said
[692 they were cannibals. At present their more or less mixed
181 descendants still live in the villages of Las Pavas and Vijes,
162] near Cali; the "Paveños" have become inveterate legal fighters, keeping their judges and alcaldes constantly occupied; while the "Vijeños," on the other hand, are now so peaceful that the court-house is known to have been closed for eighteen months at a time.

101 Of the Jamundies I was told that they were indefatigable
● 114 warriors, having fought the Spanish invaders to the last of their strength. Their name is perpetuated in that of the little town
[103] of Jamundi, near which I visited the very interesting vale of Agua Sucia, which may have been one of their principal strongholds, as well as a rich gold-washing place. The hills were and still are partly covered with graves, or *huacas*, and these have
[135] been found so abundant in gold objects as to have induced enterprising miners, or *huaqueros*, to conduct a stream of water from a long distance in order to completely wash the slopes.
172 I do not attempt to mention the fabulous riches that are said to have been extracted from this place and from several other no less rich discoveries. An immense amount of pottery, often highly ornamented, together with grinding-stones, hatchets,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

he said, "the caciques or chieftains, had their messages transmitted from valley to valley by means of runners who were stationed at short intervals along the main roads. Each runner kept himself in readiness to start on the arrival of a message, thus insuring rapid transmission." As the "planos" and also the old trails are found on almost every ridge, it is difficult enough to judge of the value of this explanation; but, if I am not mistaken, such a system of communication existed without doubt at a short distance southward among the Incas of Ecuador and Peru, and perhaps extended into the Cauca valley.

On our return from Huila, while traveling between Toribió and Tacueyó, I noticed on the left an isolated hill with a part of its ridge separated from the rest by a deep cross-cut, evidently artificial. The top of the separated part looked in the distance as if also isolated by a ditch. My friend, Mr Emile Bizot, a mining engineer of wide experience in these parts, informs me that this is a common feature of the hilly district formerly inhabited by the natives, and that the enclosed surface always contains numerous graves (plate III, 2).

The high peaks of the most rugged districts of Tierra Adentro are often crowned by isolated *huacas*, which are especially sought by treasure-hunters. At Tacueyó we had the opportunity of admiring a set of gold objects found in such graves and of which we made the photograph reproduced in plate II, 2. The frogs are of a type quite distinct from those with which I became familiar in Costa Rica. The representative of a human being recalls certain Chibchan idols, or, according to Mr W. E. Safford, Kitšua amulets. As to the thirteen remaining pieces of gold, quite thin and almost uniform in shape, they are perfectly new to me.

Former and Present Distribution

According to Father Rodriguez[1] the Pacz, or Paós, Indians lived on the summit and slopes of the *Cordillera de Guanacas*, "sierra muy fria que llaman el Páramo de las Papas," a defini-

[1] P. Manuel Rodriguez, *El Marañon y Amazonas. Historia de los descubrimientos, entradas y reducciones de Naciones*, Madrid, 1684.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

tion which would correspond pretty well with the explanation given by subsequent authors, except for its last, untranslated member, which seems to imply a lack of geographical knowledge on the part of Father Rodriguez. According to modern maps, indeed, the term "Alto", or "Cordillera", de Guanacas, seems to apply only to the group or node of mountains north of the Coconucos and Puracé volcanoes, and south of the towering Huila. This includes the "Páramo de Moras," which we crossed on our return from Tierra Adentro, but not the *Páramo de las Papas*, which is situated south of the Puracé, at the headwaters of the Cauca, Caquetá, and Magdalena rivers.

If we admit, then, that in Father Rodriguez's description the name Páramo de las Papas is merely a lapsus for Páramo de Moras, the area given by him corresponds pretty well with that which is recognized as such by Uricoechea in his introduction to Castillo's work, excepting that the latter extends this area northward to include the upper Yaguará basin. According to Castillo, this last was probably inhabited by another *parcialidad*, which he calls Bemb, "indios infieles de nacion pijaos." At Huila, when pointing northward to the valleys on the eastern slope of the volcano and asking who lived there, the Indians answered, "Los Pijaos", and among the Spanish people it is generally understood that the Paez and the Pijaos are one and the same. This is also the opinion of Reclus,[1] who says: "Among the various tribes that wandered through the thick forests of this [eastern] slope of the [central] Cordillera, the most barbarous were the *Pijaos* or *Paez*, who selected innocent victims to offer to their divinities. The enemy killed in a fight could be only indifferent to the gods; but a woman, a child, an inoffensive stranger, the pure ones, were welcome to the bloodthirsty genii." And these monstrous sacrifices must be repeated at short intervals to insure the permanent good-will of the gods.

The area given on the accompanying map (plate I)[1] corresponds with the above-mentioned description by Rodriguez,

[1] Reclus, *Géographie universelle*, XVIII, p. 305.

[1] [See p 304 – Analyst]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

marriage bonds were not definitely made until experiment indicated the fecundity of the woman, and that the union was dissolved at the will of the husband if the wife proved to be barren. The same authority informs us that the wife had to give her husband the necessary clothing, while the husband provided food for the family.

A custom mentioned by Castillo was that during menses the women spent the time sitting in small huts expressly built for that purpose, for fear of contaminating the common dwelling and of bringing disease and death to its occupants.

Rodriguez relates another custom in connection with childbirth and death: ". . . y siempre que pare la mujer, ó que muere alguno de su familia, desamparan la casa, dexando en ella al difunto con cantidad de bastimento y de la chicha, brebage, que beben: y á las casas donde parió la mujer, las dejan con las inmundicias de el parto, y acabadas de nacer las criaturas, las laban, y se vañan sus madres, poniendose en viaje á buscar nuevo paraje para su habitacion, que siempre procuran sea en parte muy fragosa, por no ser visitados."

These details are confirmed by Castillo and were probably still observed in his time. As to what is done at present, and regarding the family organization in general, it is very difficult to obtain reliable information. The Indians are very jealous of their women, do not tolerate in them any intercourse with strangers, and become instantly distrustful when questioned about family matters.

With reference to death, Castillo differs from Rodriguez in that he states that a dying person was taken from the house, so that he did not actually die in it, and that the dwelling was destroyed by fire. He does not mention the custom of leaving food near the corpse, but states that the body was buried and a fence built around the grave.

Diseases

No diseases came under my observation during my stay at Huila and Tacueyó, and the Indians rather impressed me as being a healthy people. But if their vocabulary affords suffi-

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

cient testimony, they have their share of physical ailments. Besides itch (*lal*), tumors of several kinds (*lal-sek*, tonsilitis; *kwi*, tumor in the groin), they have original names for smallpox (*inz-gui*), which I was told often rages among them, for diarrhœa (*n-thith*), dysentery (*mengui*), and intermittent or malarial fevers (*ya-ya-gui* in the ancient dialect, *kui-kui-ui* in that spoken at the present day).

Of the practices and superstitions made use of in the cure of these diseases I could gain no information, but it is very probable that the Paez still have their own medicine-men.

Clothing. Personal Adornment

At present the wool obtained from the numerous sheep kept by the Paez Indians plays the most important part in the clothing of both sexes. I cannot find any direct information on the fabrics used before the introduction of sheep by the Spaniards, but it is most likely that the Paez obtained cotton from the Indians of the Cauca and Magdalena plains, the cultivation and the manufacture of which into thread must have formed one of the principal industries in the latter. I have already referred to the great number of clay spindle-whorls found in the graves and on old dwelling sites throughout the Cauca valley. Judging by these we may feel sure that the former inhabitants were great spinners. On the other hand, the present Paez Indians still weave most of their own clothing, and there is no reason why they should not have done so formerly.

The dress of the men consists of a pair of short trousers (*kiu*), that are evidently a concession to modern civilization. These are made of raw cotton cloth, or of imported fabrics, and reach from the waist to about the knees. Over the shoulders is worn a broad rectangular piece of white woolen homespun cloth, split in the middle in the form of a poncho so as to allow the head to pass through, and hanging free front and back. This is called *tund-atl*, i. e., 'the cloth that binds, or covers.' It is generally worn next to the skin, but sometimes a light cotton shirt, called *atl-petl*, is first put on. Over the *tund-atl* they carry on their left side, hanging by straps that pass over the right shoulder, the coca

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

fortunately the tree is being rapidly destroyed, either in the gathering of the wax or through clearing for cultivation.

RELIGION, CUSTOMS, SUPERSTITIONS

According to Rodriguez the Paez did not know of any religion. But this is diametrically opposed to Castillo's repeated mention of pagan rites still practised among his flock. Moreover, it is not reasonable to suppose that these Indians would have lived in close contact with the Kitšua, who were veritable sun-worshippers, without being influenced by their beliefs.

Itaki, the sun, was worshipped at special shrines built on the cut-off summits (*itaki finô*) of high mountains. At certain dates, fixed by their priests (*diχi*) in accordance with their omens, they congregated at these places and for many consecutive days gave themselves up to chicha drinking and all the lubric manifestations provoked by drunkenness. On these occasions no blood relation was respected; nor was there any limit to adultery. Later, after the missionaries had undertaken their civilizing work, the Indians secretly continued these hideous practices; indeed, it is even asserted that they have not yet given them up completely, although they may not commit the excesses that were formerly attributed to them, as such would be contrary to their present ideal standards.

Dances played an important part in all the diversions of the Paez. They were of several kinds, varying with the occasion. Castillo mentions the *gució-kó*, money-begging dance (baile de pedir dinero), or *šita-ko* (sea-shell dance, baile de caracol), in which two sea-shells (bocinas), the one giving a low tone (bajon destemplado) and the other the treble, were played alternately for whole nights, remembering, "(a los cristianos) la noche de la prision de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, i á los indios, la chicha, baile i maldades que ejecutan." Other dances of which we generally have no description were *onza-kó*, the mouse dance; *neni-kó*, the buzzard dance; *itsa-ko*, the puberty dance of females, to which allusion has already been made (page 314); *eti-kobi-ko*, the dance of the phantom reed; *tel-kobi-ko*, the dance of the long reed, or war-dance; *la-ko* the new-house dance; *kimb-ko*,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

deserted savannas. It must be said, in extenuation, that they have been subjected to much abuse by their neighbors of the "superior race." Moreover, the Paeces are naturally hostile to strangers, descending, as we have seen, from a warlike people. The old Paeces always went about armed, carrying a lance or javelin in the hand and ready to protect their bodies from the darts of an enemy by means of a shield of basket-work (*opimb*), or of tapir hide (*χimba-kât*). The warlike tendencies of the tribe were stimulated by means of periodical contests in which the most valiant warriors fought each other in the presence of the multitude.

To-day, as we have seen, the descendants of these have abundant opportunity to satisfy their fighting propensity by taking sides in the frequent quarrels of the political parties that thus far have kept Colombia in an almost continual turmoil.

Sexual intercourse between Paez women and men of other races is said not to exist; barbarous chastisement would be the fate of the offending female. It is to be expected, however, that the closer contact brought about by the gradual penetration of the Tierra Andentro by whites and negroes will soon overcome the purity of the Paez blood and open the way to amalgamation with the neo-Colombian race.

Reclus, cited above (page 311), gives us to understand that the Paez were cannibals, and the tradition current in the villages along the western foot of the cordillera confirms his intimation with reference to the Pijaos; for the coming of "el Pijao" is still a menace to children. The early chroniclers tell us of several anthropophagous tribes which lived in this region, and it is not unlikely that the Paeces had a share in that custom.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Castillo's *Nociones gramaticales* is limited to a list of the personal pronouns and the conjugation of the verbs 'to be' and 'to write.' A few more grammatical indications are incorporated in the vocabularies, but on the whole these data are very meager, and much remains to be done in this direction.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

194

I. — PHONETICS

Vowels

	a	*ạ*	*ã*		
e	*ẹ*		*o*	*ọ*	*ɔ*
i	*ɪ*		*ĩ*	*u*	*ụ*
ə	*ə̃*	*ɨ*	*ɔ̃*	*ũ*	

Consonants

		h̀	*h*		
k	*g*	*χ*	*χ̇*		*ɲ*
tʃ	*dʒ*	*ʃ*			
ts	*dz*				
t	*d*	*s*	*z*	*l*	*n*
p	*b*	*f*	*v*		*m*

194 194 In his introduction to Castillo's vocabularies, Uricoechea asserts, on the faith of the latter, that the Paez vowels are numerous, distinct from those of the Spanish language, and difficult of pronunciation. The Castilian language has only the five fundamental Latin vowels, while the Paez has three more, *ã*, *ọ̃*, and *ũ*, not including the nasalized vowels, which are not specifically distinct.

This can scarcely be called rich, but if by richness Uricoechea means euphony, then he is certainly correct. Indeed, the diphthongs *ai*, *eu*, *io*, *ua*, *ue*, *ui*, *uo*, recur with extreme frequency, and there are none of the half-mute vowels so often 194 met with in the dialects of the Chibchan group. Again, it cannot be said that the Paez, in its present phonetics, offers any serious difficulty to the student so far as pronunciation is concerned. I have given careful attention to this special question, and think that the above table of vowels and consonants is fairly adequate to an exact transcription of the language.

When we come to the comparison of consonants we find that the Paez has all the consonants used in classical Castilian except the *z* (*ð*, English *th*), and that it has *χ̇*, *tʃ*, *dʒ*, *ʃ*, *ts*, and *dz* in addition. Here we may be justified in speaking of abundance, inasmuch as these fundamental consonants are accompanied by quite a formidable array of compound ones, either

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

initial like *ll, ft, kb, kl, ku, kp, ks, kt, mb, pk, pl, ps, pt, st, tsk,* 194
or terminal like *fχ, kχ, pχ, mb, ns, nt.*

A further comparison of Castillo's material with my own 194
shows three chief points of divergence in the transcription of 114
words. One of them, namely, the prefixing of an initial *g* to words beginning with *ua* or *ue*, is general among Spanish authors, there being as much difficulty for a Spaniard to pronounce correctly that broad diphthong as to express any foreign word beginning in *st, sp*, etc., without an initial *e*. Just as a Spaniard will say 'estreet,' 'esprout,' 'estyle,' he is sure to pronounce 'gwatchman,' if not 'gwatchimán,' 'gwarbler,' and so on. This misspelling, then, may be regarded as an idiosyncrasy of our author.

A second difference, often repeated and which must be considered as an error in the reproduction of the original text, is that the words ending in my vocabulary in *ts, fχ, kχ*, etc., end respectively in *ti, fi, ki*, etc., in Castillo's vocabulary, the terminal *s* and *χ* having almost uniformly been mistaken for an *i*. Examples:

[192]

efi	for *efχ*,	eye-tooth.
equi	" *ekχ*,	fuel.
cafi	" *kafχ*,	gargante de.
cati	" *kats*,	hide, skin, peel.
conchi	" *kuntl*,	black.
miti	" *mitl* or *mits*,	pot.
tambi	" *tampχ*,	flank.

Unwritten languages are subject to rapid alteration. This is sufficient to explain the frequent change of *o* to *u*, and the suppression of the initials *a, e*, and *i*, in certain words. Following are a few examples of both cases:

[192]

doj	has become	*duχ*,	weight.
tilo	" "	*flu*,	tree.
guaco	" "	*uáku*,	tick.
onsa	" "	*kunza*,	mouse.
ioc	" "	*iuk*,	wood, fuel.
alech	is now	*luti*,	child.
alauech	" "	*lauetl*,	lizard.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

194	*epench*	is now	*pen*,	old (applied to female only).
114	*isus*	" "	*sus*,	urine.
[192]	*atamp*	" "	*taap*,	fog, cloud.

In Castillo's vocabularies *xs* stands for *s*, *z* for *ts* and *tz*, *ch* for *tš*. The final *h* is used only to prevent the coming together of the consonants *i* or *s* ending a word and the initial vowel of the following word in compound terms. For instance, we have *mesha*, for *mes-a*, it is not; *ishe* for *its-i*, to join, to marry, etc.

II. — Word-formation

192 114 *Remarks.* — A few preliminary remarks as to the vocabulary given hereafter are necessary. In a general way it includes only words that are not found in Castillo's work. This is true especially of all isolated terms, but exceptions have been made when one of them is or contains a root of a whole family of words, in which case a few terms have been taken from Castillo's 114 vocabulary and their orthography adapted to our own.

192 197 174 Among those words not included in Castillo's, some have simply escaped him, as, for instance, a number of plant names. But many others are to-day replaced by quite distinct expressions, and this is perhaps one of the strongest indications that the present Paez are in reality a mixture of the remnants of several ancient tribes, like the Paez, the Pijaos, the Jamundies, and probably others, which resulted after Castillo's first survey of the language. As, with the exception of the Paez, we have not even fragmentary vocabularies of the tribes thus amalgamated, it is rather difficult to sustain such an hypothesis with linguistic testimony; but traditions still current and well-known examples of similar cases in other countries can be offered in support of it.

As we have in every case given Castillo's equivalent in the vocabulary, it is needless to reproduce here a list of the differences noted.

193 114 [171] *Compound Nouns.* — The Paez language, like most of the languages belonging to the Chibchan group, has suffixes indicative of form, size, matter, people, etc., that characterize whole classes of words. Castillo's vocabulary being far from exhaustive and written in a somewhat capricious way, it is not always

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

easy to determine the words that form such families, and it remains for the future student to systematize and complete them. We are able, however, to give a few examples:

Kuĕ is indicative of smallness, fragility, and is found also in several terms referring to childhood or parental relations. Examples:

kuĕ	child.
a-kuĕ	monkey.
ala-kuĕ	child.
anĕ-kuĕ	nephew.
anĕ-tuwa-kuĕ	grandson.
aŋ-kuĕ	nephew.
daχ-kuĕ	nephew.
eŋ-kuĕ	orphan (phantom's son).
ku-kuĕ	uncle, father's brother.
je-ku-kuĕ	aunt, father's sister.
kuku-kuĕ (onomatope)	a small dove.
ucso-kuĕ	girl.
ucs-kuĕ	thread.
wiŋa-kuĕ	bird.

In the following words, however, the signification of the suffix is not apparent:

ak-kuĕ	burial.
ciχ-ka-kuĕ	ant.
ia-kuĕ	ceremonial feather-dress.
ko-kuĕ	body.
imeta-kuĕ	dorsal spine.
ne-kuĕ	challenge, contest.
sa-kuĕ	heart of a tree.

Guĕ, meaning disease, is found as a suffix in a few known cases:

afla-guĕ	hectic fever (lit. hot-ache).
kuti-guĕ	smallpox.
iaia-guĕ	intermittent fever.
su-guĕ	a medicinal plant.

[164]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

verb 'to be,' following what may be a noun or another adjective, and may be regarded as a predicate adjective or denominative verb: 193

ampa-kuĕ, lean, sad.
diti-kuĕ, pretty (Cast.).
dliti-kuĕ, pretty (Pitt.).
dsuns-kuĕ, frail, slender.
its-kuĕ, lean.
lala-kuĕ, small.
nu-kuĕ, small, low, of a river. [192]
o-kuĕ, plane, even.
puts-kuĕ, ugly.
pets-kuĕ, thin, like paper.
uats-kuĕ, lazy.

It should not be inferred from the scarcity of this class of words in the examples given that the Paez language is lacking in them. On the contrary, a few examples show that, like many other primitive idioms, the Paez distinguishes gradations and categories in the qualities he attributes to an object or to different objects or persons. Thus, Castillo gives four different words for 'thick,' all of which, and one more, are still in use to-day. Now it is found that every one of them has a distinct signification or is applied in distinct cases:

fitse, thick, viscous, semi-liquid (of soup, mud, etc.). [192]
yot, thick (of a tree).
nii, thick, stout (of a person).
iot, thick, bulky.
tat-a, thick or dense (of a forest, a jungle).

In the same way we have four expressions for 'large' three for 'soft,' etc., but without data to exemplify their use.

Reduplication is frequent in adjectives and seems to correspond to a superlative gradation.

The adjectives for 'young' and 'old' differ according to the [562] sex of the person to whom they apply. The first is translated by *taki* when it applies to males, as in *pits-taki*, 'young man,' and by *kuc-nas* when applied to females. 'Old' is *inĭ*, or *tei* [561] when referring to males, and *pcnĭ* (or *e-pcnĭ*) when used for females.

Formation of Verbs. — Owing to the brevity of my stay among the Paez Indians, I felt from the first a certain reluctance to enter into the intricate study of the verbs, fearing that, should 193 114

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

193 I begin it, I might be induced to accept *a priori* as true
114 apparent rules which would then draw me into further mistakes. My former experience shows that a reliable comprehension of the infinite variations of the verbs, as bearing on flexion, derivation, etc., is not really acquired until one is fully cognizant of the spirit of the language to which they belong and is able to handle this almost as easily as his own.

In consequence of this, the few notes that follow are based mainly on the verbal terms included in Castillo's vocabulary.

193 (*a*) *Primitive Verbs.* — We find first that there are terms,
192 expressive of condition, action, or motion, that can be considered as essentially verbal, and could be called, for simplicity's sake, "primitive verbs." Here are a few of them:

dẽ, to sleep
gúgu, to run
ías, to fly
kis, to fast
ktond, to carry
o, to eat
ô, to die
ôp, to shut, to close
os, to give
ôs, to plant
ots, to work wood (labrar madera).
ôts, to burn.
pcú, to beg, to ask.
pos, to stretch.
pot, to breathe.
si, to attend, to serve.
so, to take, to receive.
tunî, to soften, to knead.
tet, to beat, to knock.
tetî, to lick.
tis, to touch.

It is not unlikely that most of these verbs were originally nouns or adjectives, and that a few of them are still in use as such, although they do not so appear in the vocabulary. The following are given with a nominal, or a qualificative, and a verbal signification, and may be considered as true

(*b*) *Denominative Verbs* — susceptible of all flexions corresponding to person, mode, or time:

ampô-kwî, sad, to be sad.
attatî, warm, *attat*, to be warm (*ô-attî*, to warm one's self).
ios-ô, standing, to be standing.
ipe-inka, thoughtful, to be thoughtful.
yuend, laying, to be laying.
paio-kî, careless, to be careless.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

193 The middle *k* of the plural forms is inserted apparently for the sake of euphony.

D.—*The Verb*

[121 114] As explained above, I did not endeavor to collect material for the study of verbs, by reason of the limited time at my disposal. Castillo's data are also very defective, but the paradigms presented by him as examples of conjugations are sufficient to afford an insight into the mechanism of conjugation. We reproduce the principal tenses with the object of showing that the verbal modifications referring to person, mode, and time, consist of a combination of the verbal root with the copulative or substantive verb and a suffix or ending that expresses the person. Our spelling differs somewhat from that used by [114] Friederich Müller,[1] who had no practical experience with the language:

(1) To be:

	Singular	Plural
	Præsens	
1st p.	*anki-t*, I am;	*ku-k-ueł ta-u*, we are;
2d p.	*inui-ng*	*ik-ueł ik-u*
3d p.	*kinâ-a*	*kinâ-(g-)ueł i-a.*
	Perfectum	
1st p.	*anki-kit*, I was;	*ku-k-ueł ta-u iô*, we were;
2d p.	*inui-ng-iô*	*ik-ueł nek-u iô*
3d p.	*kinâ-k-iô*	*kina-g-ueł ta iô.*
	Futurum	
1st p.	*anki-net*, I shall be;	*ku-k-ueł net-ka-u*, we shall be;
2d p.	*inui-neng*	*ik-ueł nek-u*
3d p.	*kinâ-nen*	*kina-k-ueł pat-in.*

(2) To write, or to paint, *fis*:

	Præsens	
1st p.	*anki fis-ats-t*, I write;	*kuł-k-u-fis-ats-ta-u*, we write;
2d p.	*inui fis-ats-eng*	*ik-ueł fis-ats-ku-a*
3d p.	*kina fis-ats-k*	*kina-g-ueł fis-ats-tâ.*

[1] *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, Bd. III, 358, Wien, 1882.

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/289 cont./

142 The Calderuno /native of Calderas/ is rather tall, with a light copper skin, straight black hair, a straight nose somewhat flattened and broad at the base, slightly prominent cheekbones, dark brown eyes reminiscent of the Mongolian eye, a broad forehead, long and robust extremities, a slightly pentagonal face; many have mustaches, and, on the whole, the
157 features are rather /290/ handsome. On the other hand, he is talkative, communicative, deeply traditionalistic, proud
[36] of himself, and has a deep love of the land. Isolated as they
[177] are from the other parcialidades by natural accidents and far removed from the urban centers of Inzá and Belalcázar, they are shy, sullen, and withdrawn with the white, stubbornly opposed to contact with him, and, as a result their institutions, have suffered less from the impact of cultural mestization.
797 Not even the very church that has worked so persistently for the
177 catechization of these tribes, especially in this century through the Lazarist missionaries active since 1905, has been able to penetrate fully into the soul of these people.

● 114 I have carried out my research in this parcialidad since
773 the month of August of last year, with several interruptions.
[124] The myths and tales which I now present were gathered with patient labor after much waiting, for the natives, when questioned about these themes, nearly always reply with the word himeto ("I don't know"). There is no need to stress the importance of mythology as an institution in the so-called "primitive" cultures. Nor is it my intention to theorize on the subject. It is enough to say, in the words of Herskovits, that "mitología es como la carta constitucional de las creencias y presta sentido a la conducta ritual que se deriva de sus consagraciones /mythology is the constitutional charter of beliefs and gives meaning to the ritualistic behavior that is derived from its consecrations/" (1). The chroniclers tell

1. Herskovits, p. 409 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309/.

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/290/

114 us nothing about the religion and mythology of the Paez. Nor
773 do systematic modern studies exist. Nor do those who have had the opportunity to be in contact with them and to describe their customs and ways of life tell us about their religion and mythology. Furthermore, there are those who state that the Paez have no mythology. José Pérez de Barradas collected the myth of Juan Tama. Gregorio Hernández de Alba refers to it, and the Lazarist missionary Fr. David González also collected it and has it in his unpublished work, Los Paeces /The Paez/, in quite elaborate and synthetical form, as does G. Burg. It is obvious that a large part of the myths and tales which I am presenting, not to say all of them, have suffered modifications in the avatar of time, as the institutions also changed. Since mythology is the rationalization of conflicts created by the culture itself, it is subject to the directives /291/ of that society and culture. Its roots are inevitably of a sociological and cultural nature.

773 Many of the myths collected have a marked similarity to
776 that of Juan Tama. The predominant central motifs refer to
538 sex and aggression. The personages in the myths are Thunder, Llîban, Juan Chiracol, Chaute, and Santo Tomás. Llîban is regarded as Thunder's son, but everyone maintains that he is Thunder himself; he was a cacique, and the natives state that many of their caciques took refuge in the turbulent waters of the river. The last two personages merge and in reality form a single being. It is to be noted that in some accounts the tricky personage presented is not Tomás, who is a saint, but Pedro Dimales, his brother.

186 There is no need to emphasize the role played by the Pijao
793 in these accounts. The recollection of this people inured to
628 war is still fresh in the memory of the Calderunos, the characteristics of the struggle sustained against them still manifest, the fear that the name Pijao awakened still alive. To the Calderun mentality they seem like monsters, like animals of uncommon size and power, who drew fire from their armpits.

/178 cont./

several leagues around were supplied for a long time with the salt extracted from the three salt deposits that still exist in Segovia. Across from these and on the other side of the Ullucos, in Vivorá, another salt deposit was also exploited.

At the confluence of the small stream called El Escaño and the Pisimbalá, on the right bank of the latter and at the foot of the ridge of Aguacate, the Archeological Park of /179/ Tierradentro, a branch of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, is located on an alluvial terrace covering an area of two hectares. Founded some 15 years ago, it is in charge of the care and conservation of the archeological monuments, which have been known to the scientific world since 1936, but to which reference was made as early as around the penultimate decade of the last century, when Dr. Carlos Cuervo Márquez carried out his explorations through the "lands of the Paez and much of the Nevado del Huila." Subterranean necropolises with columns, colonnades and niches, black and red geometric painting on a white background, statuary very similar to the Augustinian, ceramics and metalwork are the principal exponents of this culture hardly known in descriptive form.

The Archeological Park of Tierradentro has served as the center of operations for the scientific expeditions which the national government has sponsored, fostered, and supported during the last 15 years.

II

Over the Zigzags of the Road

In order to travel on winding roads one needs horses resistant to fatigue; a dashing spirit must yield to a solemn step, firm tread, and steady pace.

/245 cont./

*765 756 783 [113] 8. See: "Mitología y Cuentos de la Parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and Tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," Revista Colombiana de Antropologia, 1953.

[114] This type of cleansing has not been confirmed by any informant, curer or layman, young or old, male or female, from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa, San Andrés, Calderas, Togoima, Avirama, or Mosoco.

342 796 *756 [241] Conjuration of the new rancho. To protect their fields from the voracity of wild animals, they build a small rancho. Before occupying it, they perform the following conjuration. The curer blows remedies in the center of the rancho where the hearth will be. He digs a hole and buries shu and shulape. He makes a fire and casts fiundayuskei and bitopiskue into it. He gathers up all the ashes and throws them outside the rancho. He revives the fire again and roasts a green ear of maize, which is given to a dog to eat. If the dog does not die, it is a sign that there is no pest there and the owners can occupy it. In the opposite case they must abandon it. In Santa Rosa the Té eu eats the ear of maize.

This same ceremony is performed upon beginning a house. They give the dog roasted maize since it is not the season for green ears. Then they drink chicha and aguardiente.

241 *756 E huse uña (clearing-eat). The harvesting of the crops from new clearings must be initiated by the curer. The owner of the field provides coca, tobacco, and aguardiente and invites the curer. The entire family goes to the field.

The té eu prepares a calabash of remedies based on Chayuts, shugues, tayuskei, echiutse, ul fiñi, tatse. He sprinkles the clearing with this. He distributes as many bundles of remedies as there are persons present, for them to chew, to swallow the juice, and to rub their bodies with the remainder.

?:Hernández de Alba E-5/4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

THE HIGHLAND TRIBES OF SOUTHERN COLOMBIA[1]

By Gregorio Hernández de Alba

INTRODUCTION

Between the *Esmeralda* and *Cara* in Ecuador and the *Quimbaya* in the modern Department of Caldas to the north, the conquistadors, especially Governor Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, found a large number of tribes of different languages and cultures (map 1, *No. 24*; map 7). These tribes occupied the mountains of the complicated Andean system, the valleys of the many rivers, and the slopes toward the low, jungle lands of southeastern Colombia. Because of the fertility of the soils, the mild climate, which was largely cool and healthy, the rich gold and silver mines, and the situation of the lands between the important Colonial centers of Santa Fé (now Bogotá) and Quito, which they were founding, the conquistadors greatly desired to conquer and pacify the tribes, as the Spanish chroniclers and historians call the extermination of the Indians. Some peoples, like the *Pasto* living in the present Department of Nariño, north of Ecuador, readily submitted to the overlordship of the encomenderos and hacendados, and adopted their customs and beliefs. Others, like the *Andaquí*, changed their habitat, and moved down from the region of San Agustín and the headwaters of the Magdalena River eastward to the hot jungles, where they were safe from enslavement. Some, like the *Páez* and *Moguex*, protected by the ruggedness of the Sierras of their territory, resisted the Spaniards and succeeded in large measure in perpetuating their traditions. Others, however, like the *Pijao*, who were seasoned warriors, fought bloodily against the White invaders until they were totally exterminated.

The first historians of the conquest of this part of America[2] held different opinions on the cultural and linguistic relationships between these tribes. Some claimed that the dialects differed so greatly from one tribe to another as to be mutually unintelligible; others maintained that all the peoples of the Andean area of Colombia had the same cul-

[1] This study was prepared in Washington, D. C., where the Bureau of American Ethnology, of the Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress, and the Library of the Pan American Union facilitated my investigation as previously the Government of Colombia, my wife (who was also my companion in field work), and my friends, the *Páez* Indians of Tierradentro, had furthered it.

[2] Cieza de León, 1932; Aguado, 1916; Simón, 1882-92; Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55; Velasco, 1841-44.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

ture, with only slight differences in dialects and customs. Some authorities affirmed that these Indians had no kind of religion; others gave details which reveal a highly developed religion and an organized cult. In spite of these contradictory statements and in spite of the fact that today only the *Moguex* (*Guambia*) and *Páez* Indians retain indigenous cultures, it is possible to sketch the cultural picture of these Indians at the moment of their first contact with the Spanish soldiers by reexamining the chroniclers of the Conquest according to ethnological criteria, by utilizing modern linguistics, and by studying the ethnology of the present-day peoples.[1] It is also possible to trace the acculturation during the Colonial Period, when new European usages were introduced, and to depict the social and cultural conditions of the present day. The modern penetration of highways into the Indian territory and the official policy of changing the indigenous communities are likely to bring an end to these few remaining examples of primitive Andean societies, which have survived in spite of a poor economy, bad sanitary conditions, and missionary efforts to eradicate their traditions.

A fertile field for future research lies in continuing anthropological studies in the central mass of the Colombian Andes. The region is as important for physical geography as for ethnology, as its mountain chains run in various directions to form valleys and diversified environments.

It also contains the archeological remains, known as San Agustín and Tierradentro, which long antedate the Conquest and which have an undetermined origin and relationship to cultures in other parts of America. The present article, however, does not deal with these, but is limited to ethnology.

GEOGRAPHY

The tribes considered in this article occupied the eastern halves of the present Departments of Nariño and Cauca, almost all of the Department of Huila, the southern part of Tolima, and the eastern zone of the Department of the Valle del Cauca, which embraces the western spurs of the Cordillera Central as far as Calarcá in Caldas. The region lies between 1° and 4° 40′ N. lat. and 1° and 3° 40′ west of the meridian of Bogotá. The country consists of high mountains of the Andean system, which bifurcate at the Ecuadorean border to form the Cordillera Occidental, which runs to Panamá, and the Cordillera Central, which approaches the Atlantic coast of Colombia. Each branch has high plains (altiplanos), small valleys with rivers which are tributaries of the Patía River to the west, and high mountain peaks, some of which are volcanoes, like Pasto, Galeras, and Cumbal. The area of

[1] For the languages, see especially Jijón y Caamaño, 1940-41; Castillo I Orosco, 1878; and Castellví, 1934. For ethnology, see Douay, 1900; Pittier de Fábrega, 1907; Ortiz, 1935; Guerra F., 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1936-38 Otero, 1938; Albís, 1934. See also Languages, pp. 921-922.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC 17

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

Captain Sebastián de Belalcázar was the first conquistador who went north from Quito and entered the Andean region of what is today Colombia. He passed through the territory of the Pasto and Popayán Rivers to reach the region of Neiva and beyond in 1535–36.

At the time of their discovery, the native peoples north of Ecuador were very numerous, but the chroniclers, for example Cieza de León, who crossed this region in 1545 and is its outstanding historian, gave their locations and designations in a very confused manner. The historians classified the aboriginal peoples either according to small villages or groups of houses, slight differences of dialects, or slight cultural variations, so that the true classifications are very difficult to make.

Modern ethnological studies and a critical interpretation of the chroniclers somewhat clarify the cultural panorama of these regions, however, and it is now possible to list the following tribal divisions which existed just before the Conquest [5] (map 7):

Pasto.—The *Pasto* (*Koaiker, Cuaiquer, Quayquer, Coaiquer,*[6] etc.) (Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38), who had a uniform language and culture throughout their villages, were distributed from the town of Tuza between the Mira and San Juan Rivers northward throughout the mountains to the valley of the Patía River and toward the northeast to the southern boundary of the present Department of Cauca. Eastward, they extended to the country of the *Quillacinga*, which began at the Guáitara River (Cieza, 1880, ch. 33). In the west, they occupied the western portion of Nariño, but accurate information is lacking on some tribes, which like the *Abades, Masteles* (Juán López de Velasco in Guerra, 1942) and *Patía* of the lower Patía River, lived toward the Pacific Coast region. The Angasmayo River in *Pasto* territory was the limit of the conquest of the *Inca* Guaynacapa (Cieza, 1880, ch. 37). Ortíz locates this river southeast of Nariño but other authors identify it with the Mayo River farther to the north.

There was a large number of native groups or villages within this area. Among these Cieza mentions the *Ascual, Mallama, Túcurres, (Tulcan), Zapuys, Iles, Guaimatal, Funes, Chapal, Males, Piales, Pupiales, Turca*, some of which are south of the Colombia-Ecuador border, *Cumba*, and others, and adds that, "All these peoples and chiefs had and have the name of *Pastos*" (Cieza, 1932, ch. 33). Guerra gives other names of small groups (parcialidades).

Quillacinga.—East and southeast of the *Pasto* lived the *Quillacinga*. Padre Velasco (1841–44, vol. 3) identified them with the *Pasto*, but cultural and linguistic differences between these tribes leave no doubt that Cieza de León (1880, ch. 33), was correct in considering them a

[5] Castellví, 1936; Guerra, 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1940–41; Ortíz, 1937 d, 1938 c; and Otero, 1938, 1939.

[6] The *Cuaiquer* are sometimes treated as a subgroup of the *Pasto*. (See this volume, pp. 927–936, 937–968.)

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

Education.—Today the Indians are educated principally by their parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

Marriage.[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholicism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother, and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

Death.—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[11] I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ospina de Hernández, for her research in 1936 on matrimonial matters.

?:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

756 787 775 784 the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

726 The *Páez* and *Moguez* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed [411] with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

628 [648] [632] [764] The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Spanish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs, "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the tombs.

727 To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it on the road.

266 [175] [648] [764] Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguez*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.

[114] 727 [314] As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

7:Hemández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

Castillo mentions that they wor-
shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called "Itaqui-finó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes).

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama.. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[12] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Pdez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[13]

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another remnant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly.

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life.

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced upon them by the missionaries.

[12] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors.

[13] We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lame.

8: Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

600 Bases for the Study of the Social Organization of the Páez

By
Segundo Bernal Villa.

/Page 166 is blank./

124 /167/ The material for the study of the kinship system of
128 the Páez was collected in the month of May, 1953, thanks to the
[114] enthusiastic collaboration of Victoriano Piñakué, 18 years of age,
[115] bilingual, and a native of the parcialidad /a village and the lands belonging to it/ of Calderas. With this material we made an analysis of the kinship system, which we present below without any major modifications. It was later discussed with several native men of the parcialidad of San Andrés, who found it to be correct. At the end of May, 1954, we had the opportunity to discuss it again in Mosoco with two male informants of the lo-
[197] cality. They found practically no phonological differences, in spite of the fact that the Páez spoken in that parcialidad showed some different nuances in relation to that spoken in the other
124 parcialidades. They made only one fundamental observation,
128 which we accepted, since we consider it to be convincing. It
601 refers to the terms used to designate the sons and daughters of the brothers and sisters of EGO. According to Piñakué, they are designated with the Spanish terms: sobrino and sobrina /nephew and niece/. Jorge Mulcué (Mosqueño /a person from Mosoco/ 58 years old) affirmed that they are designated with the words kué or wásak (son and daughter) preceded by the possessive my (anji).

601 Men and women use the same terms for both the paternal and the maternal line, with certain exceptions, subordinating the real degree of kinship to the generation. The Páez system of kinship terminology is, therefore, classificatory and bilateral.

/167 cont./

601 Seemingly there is no terminology for designating the older and younger brothers of the generation of EGO, although in practice this distinction stands out. EGO is obliged to greet older brothers and the older members of the community in general, and there also exists the obligation of being greeted by the younger brothers and, in general, by all the younger members of the community.

Among the adults of both sexes, married and with children, the use of teknonymous forms is general.

• 114 /168/ The only two studies of kinship systems made in Colombia are from the pen of Professor Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff working among the Iroka and the Kogi. That of the Iroka was [104] done with the collaboration of Alexander L. Clark. With the intention of facilitating subsequent comparative studies on the subject, we have adopted his system for presenting the materials, especially the abbreviations of the kinship terms in the Spanish language /the English equivalents for the abbreviations of the Spanish terms are given on p. 10 /.

127 Before finishing with this brief introduction, we wish to
128 place on record our sincere thanks to Señor Víctor Bedoya for his voluntary transcription of unpublished documents from the Archivo Nacional relating to the Páez, and to Professor Marcos Fulop for his valuable observations and opportune suggestions which brought much light to obscure sections of our work.

601

Analysis of Kinship Terms

Consanguineous Relatives

A--EGO's Generation:

a) Masculine EGO: Brothers and sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as brothers (iaktê).

b) Sisters and daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as sisters (Pesh).

/183 cont./

557 say, the surname, is transmitted through the paternal line. The
582 wife retains it throughout her life, but does not transmit it to her children. A son of hers will bear only the father's surname.
604 According to an /184/ informant from Calderas a man respects his paternal uncles and aunts in the same manner as the maternal uncles, but not the maternal aunt, because "she is not a real relative;...she is a woman and not a man ... the men (older) have to be respected the same as the old women" and, generalizing, adds: "of the uncles and aunts one respects the men more than the women and the paternal uncles more than
601 the maternal ones." Although the terms for designating the
604 uncles and aunts of EGO differentiate sex and specify the line to which they belong, EGO considers the relationship of the paternal uncles and aunts to be closer than that of the maternal ones, and although the uncles call the sons of their brothers "sons," there does not exist among the present-day Páez a clear concept of parallel uncles and cross uncles and, consequently, of parallel and cross cousins. Masculine EGO calls paternal and maternal male cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal female cousins pesh, making them equal with his own sisters and brothers, and feminine EGO calls paternal and maternal female cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal male cousins Jish, making
601 them equal also with her own brothers and sisters. But logically
604 such a distinction must have existed, to judge from the conduct
582 observed in the selection of mates and in the respect that EGO pays to his uncles and aunts, this being more pronounced for the paternal than for the maternal ones and greater still for the men.
● 114 Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco corroborates our argument. In
60 his Vocabulario he states that the mother-in-law is called by the
582 same term as the one designating the father's sister (pezoz), and the father-in-law by the same term as the one for designating the mother's brother (cacca). This means that in the eighteenth century in-law kinship specified the origin of the spouses, clearly showing marriage between cross cousins.

60 All these traits make us think that possibly there were
614 patrilineal exogamous clans, now manifested by some types of
174 stereotyped conduct,